

## Notes

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### Introduction

1 See Friedrich Kerst (ed.), *Mozart: The Man and the Artist Revealed in His Own Words* (New York, 1965; first published London, 1926), p. 1.

2 In one BBC poll (*Your Millennium* series), Mozart finished second behind Paul McCartney. See the article from the BBC website on 3 May 1999:

[http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/entertainment/newsid\\_334000/334373.stm](http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/entertainment/newsid_334000/334373.stm).

3 H. C. Robbins Landon and Donald Mitchell (eds.), *The Mozart Companion* (London, 1956).

4 Cliff Eisen and Stanley Sadie, '(Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn (29 vols., London, 2001), vol. 17, p. 276.

### 1 Mozart and Salzburg

1 Anonymous, *Zeichnungen auf einer Reise von Wien über Triest nach Venedig und von da zurück durch Tyrol und Salzburg. Im Jahre 1798* (Berlin, 1800), p. 335. Translations in this article are based on LMF but amended in light of the originals in MBA.

2 Salzburg does not figure much in eighteenth-century travel books. One widely circulated guide, Louis Duten's *Itinéraires des Routes les plus fréquentées, ou Journal d'un Voyage aux Villes principales de l'Europe en 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771 & 1777* (London, 1779), does not mention Salzburg, even though the route from Munich to Vienna gives numerous smaller and less important towns as *postes* along the way, including Anzing, Haag, Hampfing, Altenoeting, Markel, Braunau, Altheim, Ried, Unterhag, Lambach, Vels, Ens, Strenberg, Amstotten, Kemmelpach, Moelch, Poelten, Perschling, Sieghartskirchen and Burkersdorf; similarly Hester Thrale says nothing at all about Salzburg, while Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour. Containing an Exact Description of most of the Cities, Towns and Remarkable Places of Europe* (London, 1749), mentions the city only briefly, as part of the Bavarian sphere.

3 *Der Morgen und der Abend den Innwohnern der Hochfürstl. Residenz-Stadt Salzburg melodisch und harmonisch angekündigt* (Augsburg, 1759).

4 See Doris Pellegrini-Rainer and Werner Rainer, 'Giuseppe Lolli (1701–1778): ein biographischer Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte Salzburgs', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 106 (1966), p. 285.

5 A thoroughly modern politician, Colloredo used his educational reforms both to counter his bad image and to convince Salzburgers of their own good attributes. According to the anonymous *Geographie von Salzburg zum Gebrauche in unsern Schulen* [*Geography of Salzburg, for use in our schools*] (Salzburg, 1796), pp. 8–9: 'Our fatherland is Salzburg: a beautiful German land and noble principality. It is ruled by a good and wise Prince, whom all Salzburgers willingly and happily obey. For he is their lord and master, ordained by God, the lord and master of all men.' And according to the *Abriss der Geographie, zum Gebrauch in und ausser Schulen, nebst der besonderen Geographie des Erzstiftes Salzburg, und einem Unterricht vom Weltgebäude der Globen* (Salzburg, 1782), p. 6: 'The people of Salzburg are known among foreigners as a strong, diligent people. Among mountain dwellers there is still something of that old German uprightness, that is, honesty, candour and open-heartedness, free from pretence.' This is at odds with non-partisan descriptions of the archdiocese; see, for example, Karl Ehrenberts von Moll, 'Des Herrn Karl Ehrenberts von Moll, Ritter und Oesterreichischen Landmanns, Briefe an den Herrn Professor Heinrich Sander in Karlsruhe über eine Reise von Kremsmünster nach Mosshaim im Salzburgischen. Im Herbst 1780. (Aus der Handschrift)', in Johann Bernoulli, *Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen und anderer zur Erweiterung der Länder- und Menschenkenntnis dienender Nachrichten* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1783), vol. 2, p. 457.

- 6 See Hans Wagner, *Die Aufklärung im Erzstift Salzburg* (Salzburg, 1968).
- 7 Salzburg, Landesarchiv, Geheime Hofkanzlei XXIX/2b, Fasc. 1, cited in Ernst Hintermaier and Gerhard Walterskirchen, *Aufzüge für Trompeten und Pauken: Musikstücke für mechanische Orgelwerke* (Salzburg, 1977), p. viii.
- 8 For an account of student musical life in general, not including the school dramas and serenades discussed here, see Walter Salmen, 'Zur Praxis von Nachtmusiken durch Studenten und Kunstpfeifer', in Hubert Unverricht (ed.), *Gesellschaftsgebundene Instrumentale Unterhaltungsmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts: Bericht über die Internationale Fachkonferenz in Eichstätt von 13.10.–15.10.1988* (Tutzing, 1992), pp. 33–45.
- 9 See Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der alten Universität Salzburg (1617–1778)* (Vienna, 1978), and Sybille Dahms, Maria Cuvay Schneider and Ernst Hintermaier, 'Die Musikpflege an der Salzburger Universität im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in *Universität Salzburg 1622–1962–1972: Festschrift* (Salzburg, 1972), pp. 173–92.
- 10 Dahms *et al.*, 'Die Musikpflege', p. 197.
- 11 In general, see Andrew Kearns, 'The Orchestral Serenade in Eighteenth-Century Salzburg', *JMR*, 16 (1997), pp. 163–97.
- 12 See P. Petrus Eder and Gerhard Walterskirchen (eds.), *Das Benediktinerstift St Peter in Salzburg zur Zeit Mozarts: Musik und Musiker – Kunst und Kultur* (Salzburg, 1991).
- 13 See Franz Esterl, *Chronik des adeligen Benediktiner-Frauen-Stiftes Nonnberg in Salzburg* (Salzburg, 1841); Heinz Dopsch, 'Klöster und Stifte', in Heinz Dopsch (ed.), *Geschichte Salzburgs: Stadt und Land*, vol. 2 (Salzburg, 1983), pp. 1002–53; and Fumiko Niiyama, *Zum mittelalterlichen Musikleben im Benediktinerstift Nonnberg zu Salzburg* (Frankfurt, 1994).
- 14 Esterl, *Chronik*, p. 155.
- 15 On civil and military music in Salzburg generally, see Kurt Birsak and Manfred König, *Das grosse Salzburger Blasmusik mit Ehrentafeln der Salzburger Blasmusikkapellen* (Vienna, 1983).
- 16 *MBA*, vol. 2, pp. 337–8.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 For catalogues of some of these collections, see Nicole Schwindt-Gross, *Die Musikhandschriften der Stiftskirche Altötting, des Collegiatstifts Landshut und der Pfarrkirche Beuerberg, Schmatsee und St Mang in Füssen* (Munich, 1993); Robert Münster, Ursula Bockholdt, Robert Machold and Lisbet Thew, *Thematischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften der Benediktinerinnenabtei Frauenwörth und der Pfarrkirchen Indersdorf, Wasserburg am Inn und Bad Tölz* (Munich, 1975); and Robert Münster and Robert Machold, *Theatischer Katalog der Musikhandschriften der ehemaligen Klosterkirchen Weyarn, Tegernsee und Benediktbeuern* (Munich, 1971).
- 19 Italian music circulated freely in Salzburg as well, and Mozart may well have known some of these works. See Cliff Eisen, 'Mozart e l'Italia: Il ruolo di Salisburgo', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 30 (1995), pp. 51–84.
- 20 See 'Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande der Musik Sr. Hochfürstlichen Gnaden des Erzbischoffs zu Salzburg im Jahr 1757', in Friedrich W. Marpurg (ed.), *Historisch-kritische Beiträge zur Aufnahme der Music* (5 vols., Berlin, 1754–8), vol. 3, pp. 183–98; English translation in Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 550–7. Leopold Mozart is presumed to be the author of this notice.
- 21 *MBA*, vol. 2, p. 490.
- 22 *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 533. Possibly there was another court performance on 27 August, for Nannerl writes: 'the entertainment [Gesellschaft] and music were at Mirabell today'. Even so, this concert could not have lasted long. By ten o'clock the Mozarts were at home, where they were serenaded by the court violinist Andreas Pinzger.
- 23 Corbinian Gärtner, *Lebensbeschreibung des Hochwürdigsten Fürsten und Herrn Hieronymus Josephus Franciscus de Paula Erzbischofes zu Salzburg, des heiligen apostolischen Stuhles zu Rom gebohrnen Legaten, Primas von Teutschland und Grosskreuzes des kaiserl. österreich. Leopolds-Ordens, aus dem fürstl. Hause Colloredo von Wallsee und Möls* (Salzburg, 1812), p. 6.
- 24 Joseph Ernst Ritter von Koch-Sternfeld, *Die letzten dreissig Jahre des Hochstifts und Erzbisthums Salzburg*, p. 172. The lack of court entertainments is also mentioned by [Friedrich Schulz] in his *Reise eines Liefländers von Riga nach Warschau, durch Südpreussen, über Breslau, Dresden, Karlsbad, Bayreuth, Nürnberg, Regensburg, München, Salzburg, Linz, Wien und Klagenfurt, nach Botzen in Tyrol* (Berlin, 1795–6), vol. 4, pp. 88–92.
- 25 Salzburg, Universitätsarchiv, Akten 81 ('Protocollum Praefecturae Scholarum 1759–1769 sub Praefecto P. Mariano Wimmer Seeoneasi'), p. 366.
- 26 See Michaelbeuern, Stiftsarchiv Fach 65/3 ('Stiftskirche: Abgeschriebene Inventar aus

den Jahre 1824, 1849, 1876, 1920, 1932'), p. 12.

27 *MDB*, p. 161.

28 It is a curious fact that Mozart's interest in instrumental music extends even to those works composed for performance at the cathedral: while a rich tradition of local and imported church sonatas can be documented for the 1730s, 1740s and 1750s, after about 1760 there is no firm source or documentary evidence for even a single newly composed church sonata by any other composer.

According to Nikolaus Lange's contemporary catalogue of Michael Haydn's works, Haydn composed an undated 'Sonata 2<sup>Vnln</sup>. Violone e Org.'. The work does not survive, however, and it may have been composed before Haydn moved to Salzburg in 1763 or after Mozart left for Vienna in 1781.

29 *MDB*, p. 182.

30 *LMF*, pp. 540–1.

31 'Nachricht', p. 186.

32 Michael Haydn's appointment is reproduced in Gerhard Croll and Kurt Vossing, *Johann Michael Haydn: sein Leben – sein Schaffen – seine Zeit* (Vienna, 1987), pp. 66–7 (with facsimile), and Heinz Schuler, 'Salzburger Kapellhauslehrer zur Mozartzeit', *Acta Mozartiana*, 35 (1988), p. 31.

33 See Charles H. Sherman and T. Donley Thomas, *Johann Michael Haydn (1737–1806): A Chronological Thematic Catalogue of His Works* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1993), pp. 30–1.

34 In general, see Cliff Eisen, *Orchestral Music in Salzburg* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1994).

35 Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O. E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography* (London and Stanford, 1991), p. 23.

36 Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 513–14.

37 Letters of 19 July 1763 and 9 July 1778; see *LMF*, pp. 25 and 562.

38 Leopold's disengagement is clear from Wolfgang's letter (in fact written by his father) to Padre Martini of 4 September 1776. While it overstates the case – Leopold still performed numerous duties at the court – it is nevertheless representative of the ways in which the family wished both to present itself and, perhaps more importantly, to think of itself: 'My father . . . has already served this court for thirty-six years and as he knows that the present Archbishop cannot and will not have anything to do with people who are getting on in years, he no longer puts his whole heart into his work, but has taken up literature, which was always a favourite study of his.' See *LMF*, p. 266.

39 Letter of 29 December 1755; *MBA*, vol. 1, p. 28.

40 This may have been the consensus among some of the Mozarts' Salzburg friends as well. When Leopold died in May 1787, Dominikus Hagenauer, Abbot of St Peter's, wrote: '[Leopold Mozart] was born at Augsburg and spent most of the days of his life in the service of the court here but had the misfortune of being always persecuted . . . and was not as much favoured by a long way as in other, larger places in Europe.' *MDB*, p. 293.

## 2 Mozart in Vienna

1 Letter 4 April 1782, in Robert Spaethling (ed. and trans.), *Mozart's Letters, Mozart's Life* (New York, 2000), p. 240; German original in *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 102.

2 For an overview of the Hofkapelle in the eighteenth century, in particular under Joseph II, see Dorothea Link, 'Mozart's Appointment to the Viennese Court', in Dorothea Link (ed.), *Mozart Essays* (forthcoming). On the theatre under Joseph II, see Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents 1783–1792* (Oxford, 1998).

3 Spaethling, *Letters*, p. 243; *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 106.

4 Spaethling, *Letters*, p. 306; *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 201.

5 A gulden (abbreviated 'fl.') was worth 60 kreuzer ('x.').

6 Following the death of Joseph II in March 1790, however, Mozart found his chances of promotion considerably diminished. He and Salieri had to witness the preferment of Salieri's apprentice Joseph Weigl to both of them by Leopold II.

7 Until 1 February 1786, when Joseph standardized and fixed the value of the ducat at four and a half gulden, the three types of ducat in circulation were worth different amounts at different times.

8 Of the seventy-five Italian operas produced between Easter 1783 and Easter 1792, twenty-two were newly commissioned.

9 Lorenzo Da Ponte, *An Extract from the Life of Lorenzo Da Ponte with the History of Several Dramas Written by him, and among others, il Figaro, il Don Giovanni and La scuola degli amanti, set to music by Mozart* (New York, 1819), p. 12.

10 Da Ponte noted the honour on the title page of the draft libretto: 'per l'arrivo di Sua Altezza Reale / Maria Teresa / Arciduchessa d'Austria: sposa del / Ser. Principe Antonio di Sassonia'. *MDL*, p. 267; *MDB*, p. 303.

- 11 *MDL*, p. 267; *MDB*, p. 303.
- 12 In Vienna a full house yielded between 500 and 600 gulden. Mozart's fee from Guardasoni was probably 450 gulden, as in Vienna. *MDL*, p. 266; *MDB*, p. 303.
- 13 *MDL*, p. 277; *MDB*, p. 315.
- 14 Don Ottavio was a poor tenor, Don Giovanni did not have the élan of the Prague original, and Aloysia Lange as Donna Anna simply did not measure up to the better Italian singers.
- 15 Salieri wrote two numbers before abandoning the opera. It is possible that once Salieri had broken off its composition there was no time to begin afresh, for which reason he resorted to patching together *La ciffra* from an earlier opera. For a different interpretation of the events, see John Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (Chicago, 1998), pp. 437–41.
- 16 The lack of close collaboration between Da Ponte and Mozart is perhaps reflected in the ambiguous ending of the opera. Following the conventions of the pastoral play, the libretto convincingly restores the original pairing of the lovers. Mozart's musical setting, however, shows the new pairing to ring more true: Fiordiligi and Ferrando sing in the seria style while the music of Guglielmo belongs to the world of opera buffa, that of Dorabella lying somewhere in between.
- 17 Dexter Edge, 'Mozart's Reception in Vienna, 1787–1791', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart: Essays on His Life and His Music* (Oxford, 1996), p. 82.
- 18 Burney cited in Otto Biba, 'Die Wiener Kirchenmusik um 1783', in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts, Jahrbuch für Österreichische Kulturgeschichte*, 1/2 (Eisenstadt, 1971), p. 7. This seminal study of the effect of Joseph's church reforms on church music is supplemented by Otto Biba, 'Historical Background: Church and State', in H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music* (London, 1990), pp. 58–61.
- 19 Biba, 'Church and State', p. 61.
- 20 As reported in the *Pressburger Zeitung*. See *MDL*, p. 347; *MDB*, p. 395.
- 21 Letter 26 May 1781, in Spaethling, *Letters*, p. 256; *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 120. On Mozart's pupils, see Heinz Wolfgang Hamann, 'Mozarts Schülerkreis: Versuch einer chronologischen Ordnung', *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1962/63*, pp. 115–39, supplemented by Carl Bär, 'Mozarts Schülerkreis', *Acta Mozartiana*, 11 (1964), pp. 58–64. See also the discussion in Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 390–2.
- 22 Letter of 7 February 1778 in *LMF*, p. 468; *MBA*, vol. 2, p. 264.
- 23 'Apparently at least in part in return for some meals'. Halliwell, *Mozart Family*, p. 364.
- 24 Letter of 12 October 1782 in *LMF*, p. 827; *MBA*, vol. 3, pp. 237–8.
- 25 *MDL*, p. 252; *MDB*, p. 286.
- 26 On concert life in Vienna, see Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1988), and Dexter Edge, 'Review Article: Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*', *Haydn Yearbook*, 17 (1992), pp. 108–66.
- 27 Starting in 1786 Joseph allowed plays to be performed during Lent, thereby further reducing the number of nights available for concerts.
- 28 Letter 12 March 1785, *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 378.
- 29 Halliwell, *Mozart Family*, p. 393, recalls a plan of Mozart's in 1782 to produce operas at his own expense in order to profit from their success instead of merely receiving a fee for the score. On Schikaneder's operations, see David J. Buch, 'Mozart and the Theater auf der Wieden: New Attributions and Perspectives', *COJ*, 9 (1997), pp. 195–9.
- 30 Concerning Artaria, see Rupert Ridgwell, 'Mozart's Publishing Plans with Artaria in 1787: New Archival Evidence', *ML*, 83 (2002), pp. 30–74.
- 31 What follows is a synopsis of the discussion in Halliwell, *Mozart Family*, pp. 395–6.
- 32 Julia Moore, 'Mozart in the Market-Place', *JRMA*, 114 (1989), p. 25, mentions two other attempts by Mozart to publish his compositions by subscription: two piano sonatas, K. 333 and 284, and the Violin Sonata in B flat major, K. 454, in 1784, and the three string quintets K. 406, 515 and 516 in 1788.
- 33 Halliwell discusses Constanze's dealings with publishers with riveting clarity in *Mozart Family*, pp. 590–612. For a discussion of Beethoven's difficulties in making a living from his compositions and some of his dealings with publishers, see Julia Moore, 'Beethoven and Inflation', *Beethoven Forum*, 1 (1992), pp. 191–223.
- 34 This summary is based on Dorothea Link, 'Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783–92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf', *JRMA*, 122 (1997), pp. 205–33.
- 35 The various theories are summarized in Edge, 'Mozart's Reception in Vienna', pp. 66–9.
- 36 Walter Brauneis, '... wegen schuldigen 1435 f 32 xr": Neuer Archivfund zur

Finanzmisere Mozarts im November 1791', *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum*, 39 (1991), pp. 159–63.

### 3 Mozart's compositional methods: writing for his singers

1 Mozart to his father, letter of 28 February 1778 from Mannheim, *LMF*, p. 497.

2 Mozart to his father, letter of 1 December 1780 from Munich, *LMF*, p. 678.

3 Andrew Steptoe, *The Mozart–Da Ponte Operas: The Cultural and Musical Background to 'Le nozze di Figaro', 'Don Giovanni' and 'Così fan tutte'* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 142–5.

4 Mozart to his father, letter of 8 August 1781 from Vienna, *LMF*, p. 756.

5 With the support of a United Kingdom Arts and Humanities Research Board grant, I have been engaged on a study of the autograph manuscript of *Così fan tutte*, Act 1 of which is in Krakow, Act 2 in Berlin.

6 Another example is Dorabella's B flat aria 'È amore' which is preceded by a cadence in E major.

7 Such breaks also occur towards the end of some ensembles, where the likely cause is the need to ensure that the final orchestral postlude matches on-stage dramatic requirements. At the end of the trio 'Una bella serenata', for example, an extra leaf was added to extend its orchestral conclusion.

8 Daniel Heartz, 'When Mozart Revises: The Case of Guglielmo in *Così fan tutte*', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart: Essays on His Life and His Music* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 355–61.

9 For a useful discussion, see John Arthur, 'Some Chronological Problems in Mozart: The Contribution of Ink-Studies', in Sadie (ed.), *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart*, pp. 35–52.

10 Alan Tyson, *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1987), pp. 177–221.

11 On the tessitura of Guglielmo's aria 'Rivolgete', see Julian Rushton, 'Buffo roles in Mozart's Vienna', in Mary Hunter and James Webster (eds.), *Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 423.

12 See Mozart's letter to his father of 26 September 1781, *LMF*, p. 769.

### 4 Mozart and late eighteenth-century aesthetics

1 These include E. T. A. Hoffmann, Søren Kierkegaard and Eduard Mörike. See William Stafford, *The Mozart Myths: A Critical Reassessment* (Stanford, 1991), p. 164.

2 Arthur Schurig puts forward this view in *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: sein Leben und sein Werk* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 407–10.

3 Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, trans. Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder (London and New York, 1945), p. 29.

4 Michael Levey, *The Life and Death of Mozart* (London, 1973), p. 31.

5 These include Georg Knepler, *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Cambridge, 1994); John Stone, 'Mozart's Opinions and Outlook', in H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music* (London, 1990), pp. 140–57; and especially Stafford, *The Mozart Myths*.

6 See *MBA*. English readers must rely on *LMF*, a translation from 1938 (revised in 1966 and 1985) with often outdated modes of expression.

7 See Gernot Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, trans. R. S. Furness (London, 1991), p. 195.

8 Josef Mančal, 'Zum Verhältnis Leopold Mozarts zu Wolfgang "Amadè" Mozart: Prolegomena zur Strukturbestimmung einer personalen Beziehung und der Wirklichkeitsorganisation im Zeitalter des Absolutismus und der Aufklärung', *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben*, 84 (1991), pp. 191–245; 85 (1992), pp. 233–71; also his 'Neues über Leopold Mozart', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, 42 (1987), pp. 282–91.

9 For a possible explanation of this, see my *Mozart in Revolt: Strategies of Resistance, Mischief and Deception* (New Haven and London, 1999), pp. 44–6.

10 *MBA*, vol. 1, p. 140. All translations from Mozart's letters are mine.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 19, and vol. 2, p. 374.

12 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 309.

13 I discuss this at length in *Mozart in Revolt*, pp. 106–26.

14 *MBA*, vol. 2, p. 389.

15 Wolfgang Hildesheimer, *Mozart*, trans. Marion Faber (London and New York, 1983), p. 193.

16 Hildesheimer calls it a paraphrase in *ibid.*, pp. 192–3.

17 See Joseph Mack, *Die Reform- und Aufklärungsbestrebungen im Erzstift Salzburg unter Erzbischof Hieronymus von Colloredo* (Munich, 1912).

18 *MBA*, vol. 2, pp. 325 and 354.

19 See Eric Blackall, *The Emergence of German as a Literary Language* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 204.

20 Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 4th edn, vol. 3 (London, 1727), p. 228.

21 *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 53.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

23 Robert A. Kann, *A Study in Austrian Intellectual History* (New York, 1960), p. 213.

24 *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 132.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

## 5 The keyboard music

1 This has, for instance, been articulated with characteristic directness by Charles Rosen: ‘with a few magnificent exceptions, [Haydn’s and Mozart’s] works for piano alone tend to be more inhibited and less rich than the compositions for piano with accompanying instruments’. See *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London and New York, 1971), p. 353.

2 Defensive reactions against such connotations are common. For Alfred Brendel, ‘a widespread prejudice regards [the sonatas] as teaching matter for children, as secondary pieces for domestic use imbued with the taste of their age’; for Alfred Einstein the sonatas were ‘misused as material for teaching beginners’; and Patrick Gale refers to pieces and sonata movements that average concert-goers ‘had been allowed to mangle in their youth’, continuing that much of this music was ‘all too tempting to piano teachers’. See Alfred Brendel, *Alfred Brendel on Music: Collected Essays* (London, 2001), p. 9; Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, trans. Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder (London and New York, 1945), p. 241; and Patrick Gale, ‘Piano: Sonatas and Other Works’, in H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart’s Life and Music* (London, 1990), pp. 300–1.

3 For a discussion of the traditional imagery, see Nicky Losseff’s ‘Absent Melody and *The Woman in White*’, *ML*, 81 (2000), pp. 532–50. This investigates the use of ‘the “divine Mozart” trope’ in Wilkie Collins’s novel (1859–60), in particular how for the principal character Laura ‘the melodies of Mozart . . . embody the qualities of order, peace and contentment’ (p. 550).

4 See, for example, Wye J. Allanbrook, ‘Two Threads through the Labyrinth: Topic and Process in the First Movements of K. 332 and K. 333’, in Wye J. Allanbrook, Janet M. Levy and William P. Mahrt (eds.), *Convention in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Music: Essays in Honor of Leonard G. Ratner* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1992), pp. 125–71; John Irving, *Mozart’s Piano Sonatas: Contexts, Sources, Style* (Cambridge, 1997); and Leonard G. Ratner, ‘Topical Content in Mozart’s

Keyboard Sonatas’, *EM*, 19 (1991), pp. 615–19.

5 Malcolm Bilson, ‘Execution and Expression in the Sonata in E flat, K282’, *EM*, 20 (1992), p. 241.

6 Mark Everist, ‘Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value’, in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (New York, 1999), p. 395.

7 Compare the effect of the cello’s pedal point that underpins the piano lead from bar 92 in the first movement. The fact that this pedal was already there in the texture (it had been sounding for four bars) only increases its expressive charge.

8 These more formal textural plots also suggest his leanings towards a ‘symphonic’ rather than a ‘sonata’ manner. For the distinction between these two, and discussion of Mozart’s strong alignment with the ‘symphonic’, see Michael Broyles, ‘The Two Instrumental Styles of Classicism’, *JAMS*, 36 (1983), pp. 210–42.

9 *The Classical Style*, p. 352.

10 The very shape of this figure, involving a turn and a scale fragment, seems like a permutation of what we heard earlier.

11 The sense of an archaic topic is furthered by the arresting brief middle section in which the piano alone repeats a Phrygian cadential progression. This is reminiscent of some curiously archaic passages in Dittersdorf’s string quartets, often in trios and thus similarly enclosed structurally. See, for instance, the trios in Quartets No. 3 in G major and No. 4 in C major.

12 This term was coined by Janet M. Levy in her ‘Texture as a Sign in Classic and Early Romantic Music’, *JAMS*, 35 (1982), p. 489.

13 Alfred Einstein calls this ‘a genuinely orchestral effect’, yet, aside from the issue of generic borrowings mentioned earlier, it can just as legitimately be heard as a wonderful invention in terms of keyboard sound and gesture. See *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, p. 271.

14 This is also the case in his string quartets, as I have argued in ‘The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart and Their Contemporaries’, in Robin Stowell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

15 For an account of ‘Gothic’ tendencies in music of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including the role of counterpoint, see Rohan Stewart-MacDonald, ‘Towards a New Ontology of Musical Classicism: Sensationalism, Archaism and Formal Grammar in the music of Clementi,

Hummel and Dussek – and Parallels with Haydn, Beethoven and Schubert’ (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2001).

16 See Robert Levin, ‘Mozart’s Solo Keyboard Music’, in Robert L. Marshall (ed.), *Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Music* (New York, 1994), p. 340.

17 In fact, the passage from bar 297 to bar 302 in the primo seems to spoof the precise succession of pitches, so weightily presented, of bars 1–2.

18 James Webster considers the notions of ‘entertainment’ and ‘popularity’ in his ‘Haydn’s Symphonies between *Sturm und Drang* and “Classical Style”: Art and Entertainment’, in W. Dean Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 218–45.

19 Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, p. 264, and William Kinderman, ‘Subjectivity and Objectivity in Mozart Performance’, *EM*, 19 (1991), p. 593.

20 On this subject see Wye J. Allanbrook, ‘Mozart’s Tunes and the Comedy of Closure’, in James M. Morris (ed.), *On Mozart* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 169–86.

21 For background information on this issue see Elaine R. Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), especially chapter 1 (‘Introduction: Repetition and Decoration’), pp. 1–18.

22 Katalin Komlós, ‘“Ich praeludirte und spielte Variationen”: Mozart the Fortepianist’, in R. Larry Todd and Peter Williams (eds.), *Perspectives on Mozart Performance* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 39.

23 Komlós states that all pre-1798 sources for K. 398 preserve the music in continuously notated form, and without numbering of the variations. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

24 Sisman demonstrates how Mozart adapted the vocal model to arrive at his theme in *Haydn and the Classical Variation*, pp. 199–202.

25 For background to this set see David J. Buch, ‘On the Context of Mozart’s Variations to the Aria, “Ein Weib ist das herrlichste Ding auf der Welt”’, K. 613’, *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1999*, pp. 71–80.

26 Arthur Hutchings, ‘The Keyboard Music’, in H. C. Robbins Landon and Donald Mitchell (eds.), *The Mozart Companion* (London, 1956), p. 62.

27 William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era* (Chapel Hill, 1963), p. 483. John Irving has recently offered a more positive account of K. 330–2 as likely teaching pieces, although still betraying some diffidence at the possibility. See *Mozart’s Piano Sonatas*, pp. 67–8.

28 Allanbrook, ‘Two Threads through the Labyrinth’, pp. 155, 147, 145 and 147.

29 Levin, ‘Mozart’s Solo Keyboard Music’, pp. 316, 321, 325 and 338.

30 Bilson, ‘Execution and Expression’, p. 241. We should bear in mind, however, that great expressive power can also accrue from traditional pianistic approaches.

31 *Alfred Brendel on Music*, pp. 3 and 10.

32 Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 134. Richards notes that the word could also have had less stable connotations for Rochlitz.

33 The registral play here is discussed in Cliff Eisen and Christopher Wintle, ‘Mozart’s C minor Fantasy, K. 475: An Editorial “Problem” and Its Analytical and Critical Consequences’, *JRMA*, 124 (1999), pp. 39–41.

34 Eric Blom, *Mozart* (London and New York, 1962), p. 262.

## 6 The concertos in aesthetic and stylistic context

1 *LMF*, p. 833.

2 Georg Knepler, *Wolfgang Amadé Mozart*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Cambridge, 1994), p. 89, and Mark Evan Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Music Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), p. 58; V.

Kofi Agawu, ‘Mozart’s Art of Variation: Remarks on the First Movement of K. 503’, in Neal Zaslaw (ed.), *Mozart’s Piano Concertos: Text, Context, Interpretation* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), p. 303; and Ellwood Derr, ‘Some Thoughts on the Design of Mozart’s Opus 4, the “Subscription Concertos” (K. 414, 413, and 415)’, in Zaslaw (ed.), *Mozart’s Piano Concertos*, p. 190.

3 On the dual *Kenner/Liebhaber* concept, see Katalin Komlós, *Fortepianos and Their Music: Germany, Austria and England, 1760–1800* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 109–21.

4 See Elaine R. Sisman, *Mozart: The ‘Jupiter’ Symphony* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 68–9, and Derr, ‘The “Subscription Concertos”’, p. 187.

5 *MDB*, p. 212.

6 Johann Georg Sulzer and Johann Philipp Kirnberger, ‘Concert’, in Johann Georg Sulzer (ed.), *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (4 vols., Leipzig, 1771–4; reprint Hildesheim, 1969), vol. 1, p. 573; Johann Karl Friedrich Triest, ‘Remarks on the Development of the Art of Music in Germany in the Eighteenth Century’, trans. Susan Gillespie, in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton, 1997), p. 370; Dittersdorf’s remark is given in Chappell White, ‘The Early Classical Violin Concerto in Austria’, in David

- Wyn Jones (ed.), *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 77.
- 7 Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Introductory Essay on Composition: the Mechanical Rules of Melody, Sections 3 and 4* (1787–93), trans. Nancy Kovaleff Baker (New Haven and London, 1983), p. 209, reproduced in *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt, 1802; reprint Hildesheim, 1964), col. 854. Koch cites C. P. E. Bach's concertos as exemplary in the *Introductory Essay*, presumably encountering Mozart's works between writing the *Introductory Essay* and the *Musikalisches Lexikon*.
- 8 K. 207 possibly dates back to 1773; see Alan Tyson, *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1987), pp. 25, 163. Daniel Hertz recently dismissed this idea, however, on circumstantial and stylistic grounds; see Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School, 1740–1780* (New York, 1995), pp. 621–2.
- 9 See Martha Feldman, 'Staging the Virtuoso: Ritornello Procedure in Mozart from Aria to Concerto', in Zaslav (ed.), *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, pp. 149–86, especially, pp. 151–71.
- 10 For links between cadential and ending gestures in Mozart's operas and concerto movements, see Wye J. Allanbrook, 'Comic Issues in Mozart's Piano Concertos', in Zaslav (ed.), *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, pp. 75–105. James Webster challenges the critical orthodoxy on formal connections between Mozart's opera buffa arias from the 1780s and movements from his Viennese piano concertos in 'Are Mozart's Concertos "Dramatic"? Concerto Ritornellos versus Aria Introductions in the 1780s', in Zaslav (ed.), *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, pp. 107–37.
- 11 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Hamburg Dramaturgy* (1769), trans. Helen Zimmern (New York, 1962), p. 149.
- 12 Koch, *Introductory Essay*, p. 209.
- 13 See Antoine Reicha, *Traité de mélodie* (Paris, 1814), p. 89. Reicha's definition and description is set in historical context in Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart's Piano Concertos: Dramatic Dialogue in the Age of Enlightenment* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 2001), pp. 24–41.
- 14 The form of the slow movement of K. 467 is a hybrid of concerto and ABA (reflected by my choice of formal terms – ritornello, transition, middle section, reprise etc.); in addition, the tonal and thematic schemes do not initially coincide in the reprise. While the main theme is recapitulated in bar 73 in the flat mediant (A flat), the tonic F is not re-established until bar 88. See Webster, 'Are Mozart's Concertos "Dramatic"?', pp. 113, 127, and Carl Schachter, 'Idiosyncratic Features of Three Mozart Slow Movements: The Piano Concertos K. 449, K. 453, and K. 467', in Zaslav (ed.), *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, pp. 326–33.
- 15 For further consideration of dialogue in Mozart's piano concertos, albeit not in K. 467/ii, see Keefe, *Mozart's Piano Concertos*.
- 16 Cuthbert Girdlestone, *Mozart and His Piano Concertos* (New York, 1964; first published London, 1948), p. 341; Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, trans. Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder (London and New York, 1945), p. 309; Arthur Hutchings, *A Companion to Mozart's Piano Concertos* (Oxford, 1991; first published London, 1948), p. 140; and Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London and New York, 1971), p. 238.
- 17 LMF, p. 833.
- 18 See Daniel Gottlob Türk, *School of Clavier Playing* (1789), trans. Raymond H. Haagh (Lincoln, NE, 1982), p. 111, and Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon*, col. 272. On the brilliant style as a musical topic see Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York, 1980), pp. 19–20.
- 19 While Joseph Kerman's recent assessment that the soloist in Mozart's piano concerto first movements twice '[traces] a progression away from dialogue toward virtuosity' in the two 'solo spans' is not entirely inaccurate in general terms, it does not adequately reflect the considerable nuances in Mozart's *modus operandi* discussed below. See Kerman, 'Mozart's Piano Concertos and Their Audience' in James M. Morris (ed.), *On Mozart* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 151–68, at p. 155.
- 20 In the spirit of preserving the hybrid formal status of Mozart's first-movement concerto form, I designate the principal sections as opening ritornello, solo exposition, middle ritornello, development and recapitulation, following the classification of Daniel N. Leeson and Robert D. Levin in 'On the Authenticity of K. Anh. C14.01 (297b), a Symphonia Concertante for Four Winds and Orchestra', *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1976/77*, pp. 70–96.
- 21 For more on the types of dialogue at the piano's entry, see Keefe, *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, pp. 76–7.
- 22 See Keefe, *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, pp. 77–8.
- 23 K. 491 is exceptional since its elongated solo exposition (bars 100–265) is divided into two by a cadential trill in bars 199–200, creating the impression of 'a double



exposition after the orchestral exposition' in Charles Rosen's words (*The Classical Style*, p. 246). Even in this movement, however, Mozart follows his basic plan in the first half of the section: solo passagework ensues after the secondary theme and lasts until the first cadential trill (see bars 165–200).

24 Semibreves in the string parts in bars 204–7 are not present at the corresponding moment in the solo exposition.

25 For the 'modulatory ritornello' and 'recapitulatory tutti' as they pertain to late eighteenth-century descriptions of first-movement concerto form, see Shelly Davis, 'H. C. Koch, the Classic Concerto and the Sonata-Form Retransition', *JM*, 2 (1983), pp. 45–61. See also Jane Stevens, 'Patterns of Recapitulation in the First Movements of Mozart's Piano Concertos', in Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Barbara Russano Hanning (eds.), *Musical Humanism and Its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude Palisca* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1992), pp. 397–418.

26 For more detail on the climactic status of the first movement of K. 491 among Mozart's piano concertos, see Keefe, *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, pp. 75–100.

27 See LMF, p. 877; *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 3 (October 1800), col. 28.

28 See Keefe, *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, pp. 94–5.

29 See Rosen, *The Classical Style*, p. 259.

30 Tyson suggests that the first and second movements of K. 595 could have been written in the summer of 1788, well in advance of the 5 January 1791 date entered by Mozart in his thematic catalogue, the 'Verzeichnüss aller meiner Werke'. See *Studies of the Autograph Scores*, p. 156.

31 For the 'modulatory ritornello', see Davis, 'Sonata-Form Retransition'. As Davis's study shows, this is an uncommon practice in the first movements of Mozart's concertos; examples include K. 207 and K. 459 as well as K. 622.

32 See *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 4 (March 1802), col. 409; trans. William McColl in Colin Lawson, *Mozart: Clarinet Concerto* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 79–80.

## 7 The orchestral music

1 Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt, 1802; reprint Hildesheim, 1964), col. 307. For distinctions between these terms in the context of the Salzburg serenading tradition, see Andrew Kearns, 'The Orchestral Serenade in Eighteenth-Century Salzburg', *JMR*, 16 (1997), pp. 165–8.

2 For specific modifications to symphonies and overtures in the course of their reformulation in a new generic context, see Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford, 1989).

3 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

4 *MDB*, p. 494. Zaslaw argues (against the prevailing critical trend) that it is unlikely that the symphony concerned is Mozart's earliest, K. 16. See *Mozart's Symphonies*, pp. 17–18.

5 *LMF*, p. 638, letter of 3 December 1778.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 553, letter of 12 June 1778.

7 For the quoted material, see *ibid.*, pp. 565, 558, letters of 9 July and 3 July 1778.

8 See Johann Georg Sulzer (ed.), *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (4 vols., Leipzig, 1771–4; reprint Hildesheim, 1969), vol. 4, pp. 478–80; symphony article translated in full in Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Thomas Christensen (eds.), *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightenment: Selected Writings of Johann Georg Sulzer and Heinrich Christoph Koch* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 105–108. See also the *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung* (1805), as given in Thomas Sipe, *Beethoven: 'Eroica Symphony'* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 77; and Friedrich Rochlitz (1830) as quoted in Carl Dahlhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to His Music*, trans. Mary Whittall (Oxford, 1991), p. 71.

9 For late eighteenth-century theoretical discussion on this point see Mark Evan Bonds, 'The Symphony as Pindaric Ode', in Elaine Sisman (ed.), *Haydn and His World* (Princeton, 1997), pp. 142–6.

10 As given in Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies*, p. 157.

11 See *LMF*, pp. 681, 696, letters of 4 December and 25 December 1780.

12 Franz Xaver Niemetschek, *Life of Mozart* (1798), trans. Helen Mautner (London, 1956), pp. 57–8.

13 See Henry Paolucci (ed. and trans.), *Hegel: On the Arts: Selections from G. W. F. Hegel's 'Aesthetics or the Philosophy of the Fine Arts'* (New York, 1979), p. 133.

14 See *MDB*, pp. 386, 328, and Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny, 'Symphonie', in Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny, Pierre-Louis Ginguené and Nicholas Etienne Framery (eds.), *Encyclopédie méthodique: Musique* (2 vols., Paris, 1791–1818; reprint New York, 1971), vol. 2, pp. 412–13.

15 I understand 'dialogue' to incorporate those technical attributes associated with the concept in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as outlined in chapter 6 of this volume, p. 81.

16 It is possible that the clarinets in the second version were not intended to play simultaneously with the oboes. See Dwight Blazin, 'The Two Versions of Mozart's Divertimento K. 113', *ML*, 73 (1992), pp. 32–47.

17 See, for example, Eric Blom, *Mozart* (London and New York, 1962), p. 172; Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, trans. Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder (London and New York, 1945), p. 223; and Wolfgang Hildesheimer, *Mozart*, trans. Marion Faber (London and New York, 1983), p. 86. In similar fashion, Jens Peter Larsen regards K. 183 – together with K. 201 – as a 'reanimation' of the symphony on Mozart's part, attributing the choice of key to Mozart's acquaintance with Haydn's G minor Symphony No. 39. See Larsen, 'The Symphonies', in H. C. Robbins Landon and Donald Mitchell (eds.), *The Mozart Companion* (London, 1956), pp. 171, 173.

18 *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 1 (May 1799), col. 495.

19 Two symphonies dating from the intervening years drew their material from serenades – K. 204 and 250.

20 The inclusion of concerto movements is a standard feature of eighteenth-century orchestral serenades in the Salzburg tradition. See Kearns, 'Orchestral Serenade', pp. 178–83.

21 Daniel Heartz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School, 1740–1780* (New York, 1995), p. 635; Konrad Küster, *Mozart: A Musical Biography*, trans. Mary Whittall (Oxford, 1998), p. 98.

22 Stanley Sadie and Cliff Eisen, '(Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn (29 vols., London, 2001), vol. 17, p. 298.

23 As quoted in Cliff Eisen, 'Mozart's Salzburg Orchestras', *EM*, 20 (1992), p. 98.

24 Robert W. Gutman, *Mozart: A Cultural Biography* (New York, 1999), p. 483. Mozart used the concertante movements from K. 320 for a concert in Vienna on 23 March 1783. See *LMF*, p. 843, letter of 29 March 1783.

25 On typical musical characteristics of the march topic, see Wye Jamison Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: 'Le nozze di Figaro' and 'Don Giovanni'* (Chicago, 1983), pp. 45–8, and V. Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton, 1991), p. 38.

26 See Elaine R. Sisman, 'Genre, Gesture, and Meaning in Mozart's "Prague" Symphony', in Cliff Eisen (ed.), *Mozart Studies 2* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 27–84.

27 Rose Rosengard Subotnik's contention that passages such as these reflect a 'critical world view' on Mozart's part whereby sensuous, irrational and illogical elements compromise reason and rationality is countered by Simon P. Keefe in the light of correspondences between these passages and similar material in Mozart's last two piano concertos. See Subotnik, 'Evidence of a Critical World View in Mozart's Last Three Symphonies', in her *Developing Variations: Style and Ideology in Western Music* (Minneapolis, 1991), pp. 98–111, and Keefe, 'A Complementary Pair: Stylistic Experimentation in Mozart's Final Piano Concertos, K. 537 in D and K. 595 in Bb', *JM*, 18 (2001), pp. 678–80. For a consideration of the stylistically progressive nature of one specific gesture – the 'cushion' to the main theme in bar 1 of the first movement – see Glen Carruthers, 'Strangeness and Beauty: The Opening Measure of Mozart's Symphony in G Minor, K. 550', *JM*, 16 (1998), pp. 283–99.

28 For Mozart's comments on the 'Haffner' and 'Linz' symphonies, see *LMF*, pp. 808, 859.

## 8 Mozart's chamber music

1 Peter Shaffer, *Amadeus* (New York, 1980), p. 18 (Act 1, scene 5).

2 Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1703); Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739); Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768); Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main, 1802).

3 See also Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (London, 1776–89).

4 See James Webster, 'Towards a History of Viennese Chamber Music in the Early Classical Period', *JAMS*, 27 (1974), pp. 212–47.

5 Michael Haydn's nocturnos for two violins, two violas and bass of 1773 are isolated examples of strings-only chamber music. It is commonly thought that Haydn's nocturnos were the models for Mozart's sole early quintet, K. 174; see Wolf-Dieter Seiffert, 'Mozarts "Salzburger" Streichquintett', in Cliff Eisen and Wolf-Dieter Seiffert (eds.), *Mozarts Streichquintette: Beiträge zum musikalischen Satz, zum Gattungskontext und zu Quellenfragen* (Stuttgart, 1994), pp. 29–67.

6 The Notturmo, K. 286, of 1776–7, an elaborated version of the 'standard' divertimento, is composed for four identical

ensembles of strings and horns, which gives rise to a succession of echo effects.

7 In Salzburg Mozart also composed five divertimenti for two oboes, two bassoons and two horns (K. 213, 240, 252, 253, 270, 1775–7) as well as a divertimento for two oboes, two clarinets, two cors anglais, two horns and two bassoons (K. 166, 1773).

8 An isolated first quartet, K. 80, was composed at Lodi, in Italy, on 15 March 1770; originally in three movements, Mozart added a fourth movement in Vienna in 1773 or possibly after his return to Salzburg in 1774.

9 Mozart's earlier sonatas for keyboard and violin include four published in Paris in 1764 (K. 6–9), derived in part from material composed as early as 1762; six composed in London in 1764 (K. 10–15); and six composed at The Hague in 1766 (K. 26–31). The Sonata in C major, K. 296, also composed at Mannheim in 1778, was not published with K. 301–6; together with K. 378, written in Salzburg in 1779 or 1780, it was published with four Viennese sonatas, K. 376, 377, 379 and 380, in 1781.

10 The traditional view is put forward by Ernst Fritz Schmid, 'Mozart and Haydn', in Paul Henry Lang (ed.), *The Creative World of Mozart* (New York, 1963). For a more convincing account of K. 168–73 and the then current Viennese style, see A. Peter Brown, 'Haydn and Mozart's 1773 Stay in Vienna: Weeding a Musicological Garden', *JM*, 10 (1992), pp. 192–230.

11 *MDB*, p. 94.

12 The keyboard concerto K. 175 of December 1773 postdates K. 207. And another four violin concertos – K. 211, 216, 218 and 219 (all 1775) – were written before he turned again to the piano (K. 242, February 1776, for three keyboards, and K. 246, April 1776).

13 *LMF*, pp. 299–300, letter of 6 October 1777.

14 *LMF*, p. 331, letter of 18 October 1777.

15 'I send my sister herewith six duets for keyboard and violin by Schuster, which I have often played here. They are not bad. If I stay on I shall write six myself in the same style.' *LMF*, p. 300, letter of 6 October 1777.

16 *MDB*, p. 214.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 212.

18 At least in part this was to accommodate publishers in Vienna. Where Artaria normally published complete opuses, Hoffmeister, for example, published monthly series including chamber works in a variety of scorings. It is

noteworthy that many of Mozart's Viennese chamber works were written for Hoffmeister, including the piano sonatas K. 330, 331 and 533, the rondos K. 485 and 511, the four-hand works K. 426, 501 and 521, the accompanied sonatas K. 481 and 526, the Piano Trio in G major, K. 496, the Piano Quartet in G minor, K. 478, the String Quartet in D major, K. 499, and the Fugue, K. 546. See Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O. E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography* (London and Stanford, 1991), pp. 36–7.

19 For the thorny textual question about the relationship between Mozart's autographs and the first edition, see Wolf-Dieter Seiffert, 'Mozart's "Haydn" Quartets: An Evaluation of the Autographs and First Edition, with Particular Attention to mm. 125–42 of the Finale of K. 387', in Cliff Eisen (ed.), *Mozart Studies 2* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 175–200.

20 The introduction to K. 465 was the subject of considerable debate in the nineteenth century; see Julie Anne Vertrees, 'Mozart's String Quartet K. 465: The History of a Controversy', *Current Musicology*, 17 (1974), pp. 96–114. For a recent history, and a new view of the relationship between the introduction and the rest of the quartet, see Simon P. Keefe, 'An Integrated "Dissonance": Mozart's "Haydn" Quartets and the Slow Introduction of K. 465', *Mozart-Jahrbuch 2002*, pp. 87–103 (in press).

21 Mozart may have conceived this possibility as early as 1782 while arranging for string quartet several fugues by Bach and Handel. A similar procedure is found at the conclusion of his versions of the D sharp minor fugue from Book 2 of Bach's *Das wohltemperierte Clavier*. I am indebted to Laurence Dreyfus for this observation.

22 For topics in the six quartets, see in particular Wye J. Allanbrook, '“To serve the private pleasure”: Expression and Form in the String Quartets', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart: Essays on His Life and His Music* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 132–60.

23 See Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Introductory Essay on Composition: The Mechanical Rules of Melody, Sections 3 and 4* (1787–93), trans. Nancy Kovaleff Baker (New Haven and London, 1983), p. 207.

24 For the compositional chronology of the 'Prussian' Quartets, see Alan Tyson, 'New Light on Mozart's "Prussian" Quartets', *MT*, 116 (1975), pp. 126–30, reprinted in Tyson, *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1987), pp. 36–47.

- 25 Hans Keller, 'The Chamber Music', in H. C. Robbins Landon and Donald Mitchell (eds.), *The Mozart Companion* (London, 1956), p. 134.
- 26 Eric Blom, *Mozart* (London, 1935), p. 242.
- 27 Otto Jahn, *Life of Mozart*, trans. Pauline D. Townsend (3 vols., London, 1891), vol. 3, p. 16.
- 28 Eisen, *New Mozart Documents*, p. 72.
- 29 *MDB*, pp. 427–8. In a repeat advertisement of January 1792 Artaria noted that the quartets were received with 'general acclamation'; see *MDB*, p. 436.
- 30 The slow movement of the accompanied sonata K. 526 is also made up chiefly of accompanimental figures. I am indebted to Wiebke Thormählen for this observation.

### 9 Mozart as a vocal composer

- 1 The theologian Hans Küng also finds 'traces of transcendence' in both his instrumental and vocal music. See Küng, *Mozart: Traces of Transcendence*, trans. John Bowden (London, 1992).
- 2 *MDB*, pp. 95–100, especially p. 98.
- 3 A facsimile of the autograph was published in Chris A. Banks and J. Rigbie Turner (eds.), *Mozart: Prodigy of Nature* (New York, 1991), p. 20, pl. 7.
- 4 *MBA*, vol. 2, pp. 304–5.
- 5 Constanze Weber was the younger sister of two professional singers, Aloisia Lange and Josefa Hofer, both of whom Mozart first met during his trip to Mannheim in 1777–8.
- 6 *MBA*, vol. 2, p. 264.
- 7 The Mannheim court was somewhat exceptional in employing two Kapellmeisters: C. P. Grua for 'Kirchen-Musik' and Ignaz Holzbauer for 'Theater-Musik'. See Friedrich W. Marpurg (ed.), *Historisch-kritische Beiträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (5 vols., Berlin, 1754–8), vol. 2, pp. 567–70. This is confirmed in the local court almanacs or 'Hof-Calender' published annually for the electoral court at Mannheim.
- 8 *MBA*, vol. 4, p. 107. The petition survives only in a fragment and dates from early May 1790. Mozart uses the occasion to point out that Antonio Salieri, the first Kapellmeister, had never dedicated himself to the church style: 'der sehr geschickte kapellm. Salieri sich nie dem kirchen Styl gewidmet [hat], ich [habe] aber vonn Jugend auf mir diesen Styl ganz eigen gemacht habe.'
- 9 *MBA*, vol. 2, p. 420.
- 10 Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, trans. Arthur Mendel and Nathan

Broder (London and New York, 1945), pp. 79, 80.

- 11 These works, mostly fragments of Kyrie and Gloria settings that date from the end of 1787 or later, include K. 91 (186i, a copy of a Kyrie by Carl Georg Reutter), K. 196a (Anh. 16), K. 323 (Anh. 15), K. 323a (Anh. 20) and K. 258a (Anh. 13). See Alan Tyson, *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1987), especially pp. 26–8, and Tyson 'Proposed New Dates for Many Works and Fragments Written by Mozart from March 1781 to December 1791', in Cliff Eisen (ed.), *Mozart Studies* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 213–26. I do not agree with Tyson, however, regarding the Kyrie in D minor, K. 341, the autograph of which is lost. Tyson suggests that it too may date from the late Viennese period, but there are still strong stylistic grounds to place it in close proximity to *Idomeneo* in 1781. For instance, the Kyrie could have been written as a votive offering for the success of his opera; and the choice of D minor (the main key of *Idomeneo*) would be entirely appropriate for Lent, which began before he was called to Vienna. See also Karl Gustav Fellerer, *Die Kirchenmusik W. A. Mozarts* (Laaber, 1985), p. 15, and Daniel Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School, 1740–1780* (New York, 1995), pp. 670–4.
- 12 For the Italian trips and Mozart's early development, see Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 141–227. Manfred Hermann Schmid, *Mozart und die Salzburger Tradition* (Tutzing, 1976), argues that the significance of these lessons may have been overemphasized in the past.
- 13 For instance, Johann Friedrich Agricola defines the Italian motet as 'a certain spiritual cantata in Latin for solo voice and instruments, sung in church during mass between the Credo and the Sanctus. Motets consist generally of two arias and two recitatives and end with an Alleluja usually containing many divisions.' See Julianne C. Baird (ed. and trans.), *Introduction to the Art of Singing by Johann Friedrich Agricola* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 181.
- 14 The works are listed in approximate chronological order, based on the recent handwriting studies of Wolfgang Plath and paper studies of Alan Tyson, in *Studies of the Autograph Scores*, pp. 162–76.
- 15 Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School*, pp. 643–70.
- 16 *MBA*, vol. 1, pp. 532–3.

17 Konrad Küster, *Mozart: A Musical Biography*, trans. Mary Whittall (Oxford, 1996), p. 37.

18 For a partial reconstruction of the Mozart family library, see Cliff Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Music Library', in Eisen (ed.), *Mozart Studies 2* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 85–138, esp. pp. 101–102. See also Leopold Mozart's letters in *MBA*, vol. 2, pp. 200, 337. Ceccarelli became a good friend of the family, and Mozart later wrote a concert aria, K. 374, for him.

19 *MDL*, p. 163. That the Archbishop was not entirely satisfied with Mozart's output is implied in the letter of appointment to his successor, Michael Haydn; see Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O. E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography* (London and Stanford, 1991), p. 29.

20 David Charlton (ed.), *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: 'Kreisleriana', 'The Poet and the Composer', 'Music Criticism'*, trans. Martyn Clarke (Cambridge, 1989), p. 370.

21 *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 264.

22 *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 248.

23 See Rosemary Hughes (ed.), *A Mozart Pilgrimage: Being the Travel Diaries of Vincent and Mary Novello in the Year 1829* (London, 1955), p. 96.

24 Tyson, 'Proposed New Dates', p. 219.

25 For an overview of the work, its context, and its reception, see Neal Zaslaw, 'Mozart's Salzburg Sacred Music and His Mass in C Minor, K. 427', in *Mozartiana: The Festschrift for the Seventieth Birthday of Professor Ebisawa Bin* (Tokyo, 2001), pp. 571–88.

26 Here are the relevant entries from Nannerl's diary (in *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 290): 'den 23ten [October] um 8 uhr in der Mess. in capelHaus bey der prob von der mess, meines bruders, bey welcher meine schwägerin die Solo Singt . . . der 25ten [recte 26ten] zu st peter in amt mein bruder sein amt gemacht worder. die ganze hofmusik war dabey'.

27 When Johann André questioned Constanze about the missing sections, she responded on 31 May 1800: 'wegen der Messe zum Davide penitente ist sich in Salzburg, wo sie gemacht or aufgeführt ist, zu erkundigen. den Schluss der Messe hat er gewiss nicht ins Requiem verwandt. Als er die Messe machte, war nicht von dem Requiem, welches viele Jahre jünger ist, die Rede'. See *MBA*, vol. 4, p. 356.

28 Various explanations have been summarized in H. C. Robbins Landon, 'Mozart's Mass in C Minor, K. 427', in Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner (eds.), *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue* (Madison, WI, 1990), pp. 419–23.

But Cliff Eisen cautions that the Salzburg manuscript copy (in the Holy Cross Monastery in Augsburg) is 'possibly *not* the one used for the performance, since the paper seems to date from mid-1784 to mid-1785'. See Eisen, 'The Mozarts' Salzburg Copyists: Aspects of Attribution, Chronology, Text, Style, and Performance Practice', in Eisen (ed.), *Mozart Studies* (Oxford, 1991), p. 307. It is possible that the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Benedictus from K. 427 were sung along with the Credo and Agnus Dei of K. 317 or K. 337.

29 The attribution comes from Abbé Stadler in *A Mozart Pilgrimage*, p. 158.

30 These include the following works, sponsored by van Swieten and Count J. B. Esterházy (with performance dates): Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* (Lent 1786), *Acis and Galatea* (December 1788), *Messiah* (Lent 1789), *Alexander's Feast* (1790) and C. P. E. Bach's *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* (Lent 1788). We can assume that Mozart, rather than Haydn, would have been Baron van Swieten's first choice as the composer for his oratorios *The Creation* and *The Seasons*.

31 See Georg B. Stauffer, *Bach: The Mass in B Minor* (New York, 1997), p. 187 and p. 289, n. 26.

32 The child Raimond Leopold, who was born on 17 June 1783, had been left behind in Vienna with the nursemaid. Neither the exact circumstances of the child's death nor the parents' reaction to the news are known, but a few months later, on 10 December 1783, Mozart wrote to his father: 'We are both very sad about our poor, bonny, fat, darling little boy.' See *LMF*, p. 863.

33 Otto Biba, 'Mozarts Wiener Kirchenmusikkompositionen', in Ingrid Fuchs (ed.), *Internationaler Musikwissenschaftlicher Kongress zum Mozartjahr 1991, Baden–Wien. Bericht* (2 vols., Tutzing, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 43–55.

34 *MBA*, vol. 4, p. 131. His appointment decree is given in *MDL*, p. 346, and *MDB*, p. 395. He would have succeeded Leopold Hofmann at a salary of 2000 florins, but the much older Hofmann lived more than a year longer than Mozart.

35 Franz Xaver Niemetschek, *Life of Mozart* (1798), trans. Helen Mautner as *Life of Mozart* (London, 1956), pp. 85–6.

36 According to Benedikt Schack, on the afternoon before Mozart died a group gathered at his bed to sing through the Requiem. The composer sang the alto part, Schack (the first Tamino) the soprano, Hofner (Mozart's brother-in-law) the tenor, and

- Gerle (the first Sarastro) the bass. See *MDL*, pp. 459–60, and *MDB*, pp. 536–7.
- 37 For an extensive discussion of the literature, fact and fiction, see Christoph Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents, Score*, trans. Mary Whittall (Berkeley, 1994).
- 38 Charlton (ed.), *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, p. 370. 'Compelling and profound though Haydn's settings of the High Mass frequently are, and excellent though his harmonic development is, there is still hardly one of them that is completely without playfulness, without melodies quite inappropriate to the dignity of church style.'
- 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 374–5.
- 40 Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, p. 374.
- 41 Gertraud Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (2 vols., Tutzing, 1986), plates 377–80. The *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* also includes thirty lieder, as well as two complete works and a few fragments in an appendix, but the contents of the two collections do not entirely match.
- 42 Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, pp. 379–80, calls 'Das Veilchen' a 'song that is not a song', also referring to it as 'an "occasional" work in the highest sense' and 'a lyric scena'.

#### 10 The opere buffe

- 1 Letter of 7 May 1783; *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 268; *LMF*, p. 848.
- 2 Letter of 5 February 1783; *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 255; *LMF*, p. 839.
- 3 See *Il teatro comico*, Act 2, scene 1.
- 4 See, for example, Arnold E. Maurer, *Carlo Goldoni: Seine Komödien und ihre Verbreitung im deutschen Sprachraum des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn, 1982), p. 165.
- 5 Francesco Bianchi, *Il disertore francese* (Venice, 1784), preface, pp. 8–9. Translations are the author's unless otherwise indicated.
- 6 See also Johann Georg Sulzer (ed.), *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (4 vols., Leipzig, 1791–4; reprint Hildesheim, 1969), vol. 1, p. 488.
- 7 See, for example, 'Goldoni, Carlo', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (4 vols., London, 1992), vol. 2, p. 479; and Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London and New York, 1971), pp. 312–13.
- 8 Paolo Gallarati, 'Mozart and Eighteenth-Century Comedy', in Mary Hunter and James Webster (eds.), *Opera Buffa*

- in Mozart's Vienna* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 99, 100.
- 9 Letter of 30 December 1774; *MBA*, vol. 1, p. 513; *LMF*, p. 256.
- 10 Daniel Hertz, 'The Creation of the Buffo Finale in Italian Opera', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 104 (1977–8), p. 75.
- 11 See, for example, Stefan Kunze, *Mozarts Opern* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 41–2.
- 12 Johann Adam Hiller, *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen, die Musik betreffend*, 3/8 (22 August 1768), p. 62.
- 13 Letter of 29 November 1780; *MBA*, vol. 3, pp. 34–5; *LMF*, p. 674.
- 14 See, for example, Kunze, *Mozarts Opern*, p. 59.
- 15 For an analysis of this ensemble, see Wye Jamison Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: 'Le nozze di Figaro' and 'Don Giovanni'* (Chicago, 1983), pp. 233–5, 238–40.
- 16 See, for example, *Il teatro comico*, Act 2, scene 2.
- 17 Stefan Kunze, *Don Giovanni vor Mozart: Die Tradition der Don-Giovanni-Opern im italienischen Buffa-Theater des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1972), p. 55.
- 18 Stefano Castelvocchi, 'Sentimental and Anti-Sentimental in *Le nozze di Figaro*', *JAMS*, 53 (2000), pp. 5–11.

#### 11 Mozart and opera seria

- 1 *Die Zauberflöte* was staged after *La clemenza di Tito*, but was substantially completed before Mozart composed the latter.
- 2 The performances, on the first day of Carnival, took place on 26 December 1770 and 26 December 1772.
- 3 Archbishop Schrattenbach died before the intended performance of *Il sogno di Scipione*; the work was eventually performed for the new Prince-Archbishop, Colloredo.
- 4 Carolyn Gianturco, *Mozart's Early Operas* (London, 1981), includes the German sacred drama *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots* as the first of Mozart's operas.
- 5 See Julian Rushton, *W. A. Mozart: 'Idomeneo'* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 62–8.
- 6 '... ridotta a vera opera': Mozart's thematic catalogue f. 28v. See John A. Rice, *W. A. Mozart: 'La clemenza di Tito'* (Cambridge, 1991).
- 7 See Christoph-Helmut Mahling, 'Junia's aria in *Lucio Silla*', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Essays on His Life and His Music* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 377–94.
- 8 Barrington's oft-quoted study of Mozart is in *MDB*, pp. 95–100; and in part in

Gianturco, *Mozart's Early Operas*, pp. 13–14.  
9 Letter of 24 November 1770; *MBA*, vol. 1, p. 405.

10 Gasparini's opera was staged at Turin in 1767. Perhaps significantly, Bernasconi had worked with Gluck, creating the role of Alceste (Vienna, 1767).

11 'Concert aria' as distinct from an aria composed for insertion in an opera by another composer, for which Mozart would be unlikely to write new recitative.

12 This is K. 316 (300b), 'Io non chiedo', following the recitative 'Popoli di Tessaglia', written in 1778.

13 A similar procedure is followed in Gluck's earlier setting of *Il re pastore*.

14 Campra's *Idomenée* (1712), libretto by Danchet. See Donald Neville, 'From *tragédie lyrique* to Moral Drama', in Rushton, *W. A. Mozart: 'Idomeneo'*, pp. 72–82.

15 This was, however, one of the arias omitted in the performances, together with Idomeneo's final aria and, possibly, Idamante's, resulting in a final act almost without arias.

16 See Rushton, *W. A. Mozart: 'Idomeneo'*, and also "La vittima è Idamante": Did Mozart Have a Motive?, *COJ*, 3 (1991), pp. 1–21.

17 Both this clarinet solo, which descends below the normal clarinet range and was thus meant for a 'basset clarinet', and the basset-horn solo in 'Non più di fiori' were written for Mozart's friend Anton Stadler. For the origins of 'Non più di fiori', see Sergio Durante, 'The Chronology of Mozart's "La clemenza di Tito" Reconsidered', *ML*, 80 (1999), pp. 560–94.

18 A direct musical connection has been traced between one of Tito's arias and Sarastro's 'In diesen heil'gen Hallen'. See Rice, *W. A. Mozart: 'La clemenza di Tito'*, p. 77.

19 This solo is accidentally omitted in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* (p. 154, bars 117–18).

20 Most of the performances were heavily altered to suit local tastes and conditions.

## 12 Mozart's German operas

1 For a discussion of the origins of German opera, see Thomas Bauman, *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe* (Cambridge, 1985).  
2 *LMF*, p. 967.

3 See Linda L. Tyler, 'Bastien und Bastienne: The Libretto, Its Derivation, and Mozart's Text-Setting', *JM*, 8 (1990), pp. 520–52.

4 Linda L. Tyler, 'Zaide in the Development of Mozart's Operatic Language', *ML*, 72 (1991), pp. 214–35.

5 Alan Tyson, *Wasserzeichen-Katalog*, in *NMA*, Serie 10, Werkgruppe 33, Abteilung 2, Textband (Kassel, 1992).

6 Tyler, 'Zaide in the Development of Mozart's Operatic Language', p. 235.

7 Heinrich Kurz (ed.), *Goethes Werke* (12 vols., Leipzig, n.d.), vol. 10, 'Bericht aus Rom', November 1787, p. 380.

8 Donald Francis Tovey, 'Overture, "Der Schauspieldirektor"' (The Theatre-Manager)', in his *Essays in Musical Analysis* (7 vols., London, 1935–1944), vol. 4, pp. 21–2.

9 For instance, the dance duet of Lubano and Lubanara (Act 1, No. 4), the pantomime with Lubano and the dwarfs (Act 2, No. 4), the duets of Eutifronte and Lubano (Act 2, finale) and the two cat duets in Act 2.

10 Even while criticizing the text, Julius Friedrich Knüppeln (*Vertraute Briefe zur Charakteristik von Wien*, 1793) praises Mozart's music, particularly Sarastro's aria and the Priests' chorus for their 'feierlich' quality.

## 13 Mozart in the nineteenth century

1 Quoted in Hugh Macdonald, 'Berlioz and Mozart', in Peter Bloom (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 222.

2 Maynard Solomon, *Mozart: A Life* (New York, 1995), p. 5. This important though dubious strand in Mozart reception had its beginnings in a postscript to a letter in which Nannerl responded to questions that Schlichtegroll had originally put to Albert von Mölk, his Salzburg contact and a friend of the Mozart family. The postscript, several paragraphs long, is in Mölk's hand, not Nannerl's. See Bruce Cooper Clarke, 'Albert von Mölk: Mozart Myth-Maker? Study of an Eighteenth-Century Correspondence', in *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1995, pp. 169–79.

3 See Alec Hyatt King, 'Mozart Literature', in H. C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music* (London, 1990), p. 405.

4 See the comments on Ulibishev's outlook in Ian Bent (ed.), *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 1: *Fugue, Form and Style* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 281–2. The German translation of Ulibishev's work went through two editions: *Mozart's Leben, nebst einer Übersicht der allgemeinen Geschichte der Musik und einer Analyse der Hauptwerk Mozart's*, trans. A. Schraishuon (3 vols., Stuttgart, 1847); the second edition, in four volumes, was prepared by Ludwig Gantler (Stuttgart, 1859). The first edition in particular was influential in disseminating Ulibishev's ideas in the German-speaking world.

- 5 Otto Jahn, *W. A. Mozart* (4 vols., Leipzig, 1856), vol. 4, p. 746.
- 6 Royce E. Wates, 'Eduard Mörike, Alexander Ulibishev, and the "Ghost Scene" in *Don Giovanni*', in *Studies in the History of Music*, vol. 3: *The Creative Process* (New York, 1993), pp. 32–3, 39, 42–3. I would like to thank Professor Wates for her comments on an earlier draft of this chapter. I am especially grateful to her for having drawn my attention to a number of the more egregious errors in that version.
- 7 E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Don Juan', in *Fantasy Pieces in Callot's Manner: Pages from the Diary of a Travelling Romantic*, trans. Joseph M. Hayse (Schenectady, NY, 1996), pp. 54–64.
- 8 Søren Kierkegaard, *Either/Or* (1843), trans. David F. Swenson and Lillian Marvin Swenson (2 vols., Garden City, NY, 1959), vol. 1, p. 58. Since Kierkegaard's treatise was available only in the original Danish until the beginning of the twentieth century, it exercised virtually no impact on the nineteenth-century image of Mozart. Alfred Einstein was one of the first Mozart biographers to cite Kierkegaard's work. See Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, trans. Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder (London and New York, 1945), pp. 432, 434.
- 9 Royce E. Wates, '“Die Oper aller Opern”: *Don Giovanni* as Text for the Romantics', in Hermann Danuser and Tobias Plebuch (eds.), *Musik als Text: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Freiburg im Breisgau 1993* (2 vols., Kassel, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 209–14.
- 10 Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz from 1803 to 1865*, trans. Rachel Holmes and Eleanor Newman, annotated and revised by Ernest Newman (New York, 1966), p. 62.
- 11 Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 32–3.
- 12 Franz Xaver Niemetschek, *Life of Mozart* (1798), trans. Helen Mautner (London, 1956), p. 55.
- 13 Friedrich Rochlitz, 'Raphael und Mozart', *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 2 (1800), cols. 648–9. All translations are the author's unless otherwise indicated.
- 14 Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, *Anhang zu W. A. Mozarts Biographie*, ed. Constanze Wittwe von Nissen (Leipzig, 1828), pp. 31, 37.
- 15 Friedrich Schlegel, 'Über das Studium der griechischen Poesie (1795–6)', in *Kritische Friedrich Schlegel Ausgabe*, vol. 1: *Studien des klassischen Altertums*, ed. Ernst Behler (Vienna, 1979), p. 244.
- 16 On the association of Mozart's music with the aesthetic of the sublime in the writings of Jean Paul, Friedrich Rochlitz and Christian Friedrich Michaelis, see Gernot Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, trans. R. S. Furness (London, 1991; first published in German as *Mozart und die Nachwelt*, Salzburg, 1985), pp. 78–9. As Elaine Sisman observes in *Mozart: The 'Jupiter' Symphony* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 18–20, Kant's 'mathematical' sublime has particular relevance for the reception of Mozart's 'Jupiter' Symphony.
- 17 E. T. A. Hoffmann, review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, in David Charlton (ed.), *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: 'Kreisleriana', 'The Poet and the Composer', 'Music Criticism'*, trans. Martyn Clarke (Cambridge, 1989), p. 238.
- 18 E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Further Observations on Spontini's Opera *Olimpia*' (1821), in Charlton (ed.), *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, p. 440.
- 19 Stendhal (Henri Beyle), *Lives of Haydn, Mozart and Metastasio*, ed. and trans. Richard N. Coe (London, 1972; a translation of *Vies de Haydn, de Mozart et de Métastase*, 1817, the second edition of *Lettres écrites de Vienne en Autriche*, 1815), pp. 203, 205. For a discussion of several other early nineteenth-century writers who compared Mozart and Shakespeare, see Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, pp. 88–90. For Mozart's view of the ghost scene in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, see Wates, '“Die Oper aller Opern”', p. 211.
- 20 John Warrack (ed.), *Carl Maria von Weber: Writings on Music*, trans. Martin Cooper (Cambridge, 1981), p. 264.
- 21 For a summary of the controversy, see John Irving, *Mozart: The 'Haydn' Quartets* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 76–8.
- 22 Robert Schumann, *Tagebücher*, Band 1: 1827–1838, ed. Georg Eismann (Leipzig, 1971), p. 348.
- 23 *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 1 (1834), p. 73.
- 24 See the commentary on Wendt's *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Musik, besonders in Deutschland und wie er geworden* (Leipzig, 1836) in Arno Forchert, '“Klassisch” und “romantisch” in der Musikliteratur des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts', *Die Musikforschung*, 31 (1978), p. 412.
- 25 Franz Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich* (Leipzig, 1852), pp. 313, 322–3. The discussion of Mozart in Arrey von Dommer's *Handbuch der Musik-Geschichte* (2nd edn, Leipzig, 1878), pp. 563–9, draws liberally on Brendel.
- 26 Alexander Ulibishev, '[Mozart's] String Quartets Dedicated to Haydn', from *Nouvelle*



- Biographie de Mozart*, in Bent (ed.), *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 1, p. 299.
- 27 Jahn, W. A. *Mozart*, vol. 4, pp. 746–7.
- 28 Charles Gounod, *Mozart's 'Don Giovanni': A Commentary*, trans. Windeyer Clark (London, 1895), p. 13.
- 29 Quoted in Alexandra Orlova, *Tchaikovsky: A Self-Portrait*, trans. R. M. Davison (Oxford, 1990), p. 43. After first examining the autograph of the opera, Tchaikovsky wrote in his diary: 'I have seen the score of *Don Giovanni* written IN HIS OWN HAND!!!!!!!!!!' (See Orlova, *Tchaikovsky*, p. 296.)
- 30 Ferruccio Busoni, 'Mozart: Aphorisms' (originally published in *Lokal Anzeiger*, Berlin, 1906), in *The Essence of Music and Other Papers*, trans. Rosamund Ley (New York, 1965), p. 105.
- 31 Letter of 26 September 1781 to Leopold Mozart. Translation quoted from Peter Kivy, *Ossin's Rage: Philosophical Reflections on Opera, Drama, and Text* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 59–60.
- 32 Hoffmann, review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, in Charlton (ed.), E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Musical Writings*, pp. 237–8.
- 33 Quoted in Thomas Seedorf, *Studien zur kompositorischen Mozart-Rezeption im frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Laaber, 1990), p. 33.
- 34 Hector Berlioz, 'Don Juan', in Julian Rushton, W. A. *Mozart: 'Don Giovanni'* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 134. It should be noted that Meyerbeer's 1845 revival of the opera in Berlin marked the first time since 1788 that Mozart's recitatives had been heard in public. The concerted numbers were done in Rochlitz's translation, while Da Ponte's text for the original recitatives was also translated into German. See Wates, '“Die Oper aller Opern”', pp. 212–14.
- 35 Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich*, pp. 329–30.
- 36 Eduard Hanslick, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen der letzten fünfzehn Jahre, 1870–1885* (2nd edn, Berlin, 1886), p. 62.
- 37 Diary entry of 13 June 1816. See Otto Erich Deutsch,  *Schubert: Die Dokumente seines Lebens, Franz Schubert: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Serie 8, Supplement, Band 5 (Kassel, 1964), pp. 42–3.
- 38 Significant contributions in this area include: Karl Gustav Fellerer, 'Mozart in der Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1980–83*, pp. 1–9; Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, pp. 157–77; Jeremy Yudkin, 'Beethoven's "Mozart" Quartet', *JAMS*, 45 (1992), pp. 30–74; R. Larry Todd, 'Mozart According to Mendelssohn: A Contribution to Rezeptionsgeschichte', in R. Larry Todd and Peter Williams (eds.), *Perspectives on Mozart Performance* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 158–203; Hugh Macdonald, 'Berlioz and Mozart', and Imogen Fellingner, 'Brahms's View of Mozart', in Robert Pascall (eds.), *Brahms: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 41–57.
- 39 *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 13 (1840), p. 198.
- 40 *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 8 (1838), p. 182.
- 41 Edward Garden and Nigel Gotteri (eds.), 'To my best friend': *Correspondence between Tchaikovsky and Nadezhda von Meck 1876–1878*, trans. Galina von Meck (Oxford, 1993), p. 238.
- 42 See Orlova, *Tchaikovsky*, p. 314. The sources for the movements of 'Mozartiana' are as follows: I, 'Gigue': Gigue for Clavier, K. 574; II, 'Menuet': Minuet for Clavier, K. 355; III, 'Preghiera': Liszt's paraphrase for piano of 'Ave verum corpus', K. 618; IV, 'Thème et variations': Variations for Clavier on 'Les hommes pieusement' from Gluck's *La Rencontre imprévue*, K. 455.
- 43 See Otto Gottlieb-Billroth (ed.), *Billroth und Brahms im Briefwechsel* (Berlin and Vienna, 1935), p. 315; and Brahms's letter of June 1869 to Simrock, in Max Kalbeck (ed.), *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel*, vol. 9: *Johannes Brahms Briefe an P. J. und Fritz Simrock* (Berlin, 1917), p. 75.
- 44 Richard Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms (1885–97)* (Tutzing, 1971), p. 22.
- 45 See my 'From "Concertante" Rondo to "Lyric Sonata": A Commentary on Brahms's Reception of Mozart', in David Brodbeck (ed.), *Brahms Studies*, vol. 1 (Lincoln, NE, and London, 1994), pp. 111–38.
- 46 Heuberger, *Erinnerungen*, p. 68.
- 47 Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack (eds.), *Cosima Wagner's Diaries*, trans. Geoffrey Skelton, vol. 2: 1878–1883 (New York and London, 1980), p. 199, entry of 12 November 1878.
- 48 *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, trans. William Ashton Ellis (London, 1893), vol. 2, p. 36, and vol. 3, p. 334.
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- 79 Ibid., p. 204.
- 80 Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, p. 211.
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- 85 Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Expositions and Developments* (London, 1962), p. 77.

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- 91 Literally so in the case of one T-shirt, designed by J. Vortruba and copyrighted by Fun Explosive, in which, it seems, Mozart's legs stand above a representation of Prague's Baroque architecture.
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- 2 Friedrich Schlichtegroll, 'Johannes Chrysostomos Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart', in *Nekrolog auf das Jahr 1791* (Gotha, 1793), pp. 82–112.
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- 15 Francis Carr, *Mozart and Constanze* (London, 1983).
- 16 Otto Erich Deutsch, 'Die Legende von Mozarts Vergiftung', *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1964*, pp. 7–18; William Stafford, *Mozart's Death: A Corrective Survey of the Legends* (London, 1991).
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- 18 Carl Bär, *Mozart: Krankheit – Tod – Begräbnis* (Salzburg, 1967).
- 19 Arthur Schurig, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Sein Leben und sein Werk* (Leipzig, 1913); Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, trans. Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder (London and New York, 1945).
- 20 Uwe Kraemer, 'Wer hat Mozart verhungern lassen?', *Musica*, 30 (1976), pp. 75–84.
- 21 H. C. Robbins Landon, *1791: Mozart's Last Year* (London, 1988).
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- 2 Remembered by Leopold Mozart in a letter of 7 December 1780; *ibid.*, p. 683.
- 3 Letter of 11 June 1763; *ibid.*, p. 20.
- 4 Letter of 16 October 1762; *ibid.*, p. 5.
- 5 Letter of 18 October 1777; *ibid.*, p. 331.
- 6 Letter of 6 October 1777; *ibid.*, p. 300.
- 7 Letter of 23 October 1777; *ibid.*, p. 338.
- 8 *MDL*, p. 456; *MDB*, pp. 531–2.
- 9 For details, see Ian Woodfield, 'New Light on the Mozarts' London Visit: A Private Concert with Manzuoli', *ML*, 76 (1995), pp. 187–207.
- 10 *MDL*, p. 88; *MDB*, p. 96.
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- 15 Letter of 28 December 1777; *LMF*, p. 436.
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- 17 Letter of 23 October 1777; *ibid.*, p. 339.
- 18 Letter of 8 November 1777; *ibid.*, p. 363.
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- 20 Letter of 2 June 1781; *LMF*, p. 739.
- 21 All data in this table is taken from Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1988), pp. 237–384.
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 37 Letter of 8 April 1781; *ibid.*, p. 722.  
 38 Letter of 16 January 1782; *ibid.*, p. 793.  
 39 Letter of 20 February 1784; *ibid.*, p. 867.  
 40 Letter of 6 December 1777; *ibid.*, p. 408.

### 17 Performance practice in the music of Mozart

I would like to express my thanks to Cliff Eisen for his permission to include materials here that were drawn up for our Breitkopf and Härtel edition, *Mozart: Konzert für Klavier und Orchester* (‘Jeunehomme’), *Es-dur*, KV 271 (Wiesbaden, 2001).

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- 2 For more details, see Rosenblum, *Classic Piano Music*, chapter 10, pp. 362–80.  
 3 Letter of 23–5 October 1777; *LMF*, p. 340.  
 4 See, for instance, bars 62–8 of the first movement of the Piano Sonata in G major, K. 283. I would like to thank Malcolm Bilson for pointing out this example.  
 5 For *dolce* as a dynamic as well as a character prescription, see Robert D. Levin, ‘The Devil’s in the Details: Neglected Aspects of Mozart’s Piano Concertos’, in Neal Zaslaw

(ed.), *Mozart’s Piano Concertos: Text, Context, Interpretation* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), p. 32–5.

- 6 See, for example, the Piano Concerto in E flat major, K. 271/i, bars 83–4, 86, 212–13, 215.  
 7 For a recent presentation of both sides of this argument, including extensive accounts of the literature, see Frederick Neumann, ‘Dots and Strokes in Mozart’, *EM*, 21 (1993), pp. 429–35, and Clive Brown, ‘Dots and Strokes in Late Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Music’, *EM*, 21 (1993), pp. 593–610.  
 8 See, for example, the Rondo in D major for Piano and Orchestra, K. 382.  
 9 Leopold Mozart, *Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, p. 136.  
 10 *Ibid.*, p. 166. It is worth noting, however, that the examples in this treatise frequently dispense with slurs from grace notes to main notes.  
 11 The standard correction is to raise the first violin a third, as this is the voice leading used by the solo keyboard later in the movement; but as the second violin was not notated until the second phase it could be argued that Mozart’s original intention was for the seconds to play a sixth below the firsts.  
 12 The complete embellished version appears in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, II/7 (arias), vol. 2, pp. 151–66. Neumann gives the complete embellished and original vocal lines without the accompaniment in *Ornamentation and Improvisation*, pp. 235–8. The embellished version consists of two sheets. The first, comprising the A section of the aria, apparently dates from the time of composition (1778); the second, containing the reprise of the A section, probably dates from 1783. The structure of the aria was modified at the time of the revival. Mozart also embellished the aria ‘Ah se a morir mi chiama il fato mio crudele’ (No. 14) from *Lucio Silla*, K. 135 (*Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, II/5, vol. 7, part 2, pp. 471–84); the two versions of the solo vocal part are given in Neumann, *Ornamentation and Improvisation*, pp. 231–33), and arias by Johann Christian Bach and Antonio Sacchini. A number of his vocal cadenzas are collected in the sixth edition of the Köchel catalogue under the number K. 293e, to appear in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, X/28, Abt. 3–5, part 2: *Sonstige Bearbeitungen und Kopien*. (My thanks to Dr Faye Ferguson of the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* for this information.)  
 13 See Robert D. Levin, ‘K. 488: Mozart’s Third Concerto for Barbara Ployer?’ in

*Mozartiana: Festschrift for the Seventieth Birthday of Professor Ebisawa Bin* (2001), pp. 555–70. Ployer's embellishment is reproduced in the critical report for this concerto in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* (V/15, vol. 7), prepared by Hermann Beck. It appears in a diplomatic version with an additional staff that rationalizes the rhythms (excerpted in example 17.3 in the present chapter), as well as in facsimile.

14 In piano concertos a dominant-seventh chord is played under the trill by the left hand. In string concertos the soloist can create the chord through multiple stops. For wind instruments, brass instruments and the voice, the chord is implied.

15 See also the cadenzas cited in note 20 below.

16 Giambattista Mancini, however, advocates motivic citation. See Mancini, *Pensieri, e riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato* (Vienna, 1774), p. 124.

17 See the later of the two cadenzas to K. 271/i, bars 20–9.

18 Türk, *School of Clavier Playing*, pp. 298–301. Türk's, examples and discussion of poor cadenzas on pp. 304–7 are illuminating and amusing.

19 Neumann, *Ornamentation and Improvisation*, pp. 218–27.

20 Indeed, the first-movement cadenza to the Piano Concerto in A major, K. 488, uses none of the many memorable themes of that movement; for the origin of the quotation at the beginning of the cadenza, see note 13 above. For general precepts of vocal cadenza construction, see Johann Adam Hiller, *Anweisung zum musikalisch-zierlichen Gesange* (Leipzig, 1780), pp. 108–28; Mancini, *Pensieri, e riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato*, pp. 122–9. For discussion in twentieth-century treatises, see Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard*, pp. 214–34; Robert D. Levin, 'Instrumental Ornamentation, Improvisation and Cadenzas', in Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie (eds.), *Performance Practice: Music after 1600* (London, 1989), pp. 267–91, especially pp. 279–87, for instrumental cadenzas; Will Crutchfield, 'The Classical Era: Voices', in Brown and Sadie (eds.), *Performance Practice*, pp. 292–319, for vocal cadenzas.

21 See the Broekmans and van Poppel editions of K. 466 and 491 (Amsterdam, 1959), and K. 467, 503, 482 and 537 (Amsterdam, 1964). In addition, Flothuis

composed cadenzas for the Concerto for Flute and Harp, K. 299, and for the violin concertos K. 211, 216, 218 and 219.

22 Robert D. Levin, *Mozart: Kadenzen zu Mozarts Violinkonzerten* (Vienna, 1992). This contains two versions with combinatorial possibilities for all cadenzas and lead-ins in the concertos K. 207, 211, 216, 218 and 219. Similar cadenzas and lead-ins have been published by G. Henle for the flute concertos K. 313 (673) and 314 (674), for the Andante in C major, K. 315 (675), and for the Oboe Concerto, K. 314 (695), the horn concertos K. 447 (703) and 495 (in press), and the Concerto for Flute and Harp, K. 299 (in press). Cadenzas and lead-ins to numerous arias remain unpublished.

23 See Leopold Mozart, *Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, pp. 246, 179; quoted in Robin Stowell, 'The Classical Era: Strings', in Brown and Sadie (eds.), *Performance Practice*, p. 245.

24 Stowell, 'Strings', pp. 239–51.

25 Stowell, 'Strings', p. 247.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 248.

27 See Daniel N. Leeson and Robert D. Levin, 'Mozart's Deliberate Use of Incorrect Key Signatures for Clarinets', *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1998, pp. 139–52.

28 David Charlton, 'The Classical Era: Woodwind and Brass', in Brown and Sadie (eds.), *Performing Practice*, pp. 252–66.

29 The concertos K. 175, 238 and 246 are effective on the harpsichord, and K. 175 could conceivably have been intended for organ. (Its top note is d<sup>III</sup> and the treatment of the lower bass range is congruent with the epistle sonatas for organ.) The Concerto for Three Keyboards, K. 242 (1776), contains dynamics, including numerous occurrences of *fp* as well as *crescendo*, thereby implying performance with pianos.

30 See the Sonata in D major, K. 311/ii, bars 86–90. More generally, see David Rowland, *A History of Pianoforte Pedalling* (Cambridge, 1993).

31 Crutchfield, 'Voices', in Brown and Sadie (eds.), *Performing Practice*, pp. 295–6.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 295.

33 Cliff Eisen, 'Mozart's Salzburg Orchestras', *EM*, 21 (1992), pp. 89–104.

34 *LMF*, pp. 526–7; *MBA*, vol. 2, p. 338.

35 *LMF*, p. 724; *MBA*, vol. 3, p. 106.

36 Cliff Eisen, 'The Orchestral Bass Part in Mozart's Salzburg Piano Concertos: The Evidence of the Authentic Copies', in

Zaslav (ed.), *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, pp. 411–26.

37 James Webster, 'The Bass Part in Haydn's Early String Quartets and in Austrian Chamber Music, 1750–1780' (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1973); Webster, 'Violoncello and Double Bass in the Chamber Music of Haydn and His Viennese

Contemporaries, 1750–1780', *JAMS*, 29 (1976), pp. 413–39; Webster, 'The Scoring of Mozart's Chamber Music for Strings', in Allan W. Atlas (ed.), *Music in the Classic Period: Essays in Honor of Barry S. Brook* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1985), pp. 259–96; Wolf-Dieter Seiffert, *Mozarts frühe Streichquartette* (Munich, 1992).